

Those opinions have been strengthened and intensified by fifteen years of observation and experience. Resistance to the extension and increase of the slave power constitutes an essential element in the Republican platform on which that party has risen and extended until at this time it wields the moral power of the nation. The surrender of this doctrine would be a surrender, a disavowal of the only party which promises peace or permanence to our government; a party whose triumph is as sure as its adherence to the principles on which it was founded.

It was with inexpressible pain that I read the remarks on the subject which you are reported to have made. Your numerous friends in this part of the State, I think, unite with me in a cordial desire to see a more full expression of the reasons on which you found your opinions, communicated through the public press, and to attain this object I have addressed you with such frankness. With much respect, your friend,

J. R. GIDDINGS.

THE TWENTY SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The ultimate object of this Society is the abolition of American slavery; its immediate end, the conversion of the people of Pennsylvania to anti-slavery doctrines.

This Commonwealth once enjoyed a proud eminence in her relation to the cause of human freedom. From her chief city, then the capital of the State and nation, was first published the glorious doctrine that 'all men are created equal.' From the same city, as the centre of operations, issued those benign influences which put a period to slavery in this State, and which contributed so largely to the same result in States adjoining. For, aided by her citizens and influenced by her example, New York and New Jersey adopted emancipation acts, substantially similar to that of Pennsylvania. The most distinguished names in the history of the State are those which were made so by their possessors' devotion to the cause of liberty; and the most creditable chapter in her annals is that which records the emancipation of her slaves.

A brief reference to this act, and a recital of the chief facts, which, as cause and effect, preceded and followed it, will not be irrelevant to our present task, nor perhaps altogether unedifying.

The first organized efforts for the abolition of slavery in the United States were made in Pennsylvania. The old Abolition Society, taking its name from the State, had its nucleus in an association formed in Philadelphia as early as the year 1775. A little company, chiefly Quakers, met at the Sun Tavern, in Second street, on the 14th of April of that year, and formed themselves into an association, under the unpretending title of 'The Society for the Relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in bondage.' The operations of this Society and of the members composing it took a wider range than would be inferred from its name. Among its most active laborers was the well-known philanthropist, Anthony Benezet.

In the year 1787, this Association was reorganized and placed on a broader basis, taking the title of the 'Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, the relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and for improving the condition of the African race.' The object of the Society thus defined in its title is still more distinctly set forth in the Preamble to its Constitution and By-Laws, which is as follows:

'It having pleased the Creator of the world to make of one flesh all the children of men, it becomes them to consult and promote each other's happiness, as members of one family, however diversified they may be by color, situation, religion, or different states of society. It is more especially the duty of those persons who profess to maintain for themselves the rights of human nature, and who acknowledge the obligation of Christianity to use such means as are in their power to extend the blessings of freedom to every part of the human race; and in a more particular manner to such of their fellow-creatures as are entitled to their freedom by the laws and constitutions of any of the United States, and who, notwithstanding, are detained in bondage by fraud or violence. From a full conviction of the truth and obligation of these principles—from a desire to diffuse them wherever the miseries and vices of slavery exist, and in humble confidence of the favor and support of the Father of mankind—the subscribers have associated themselves under the title of 'The Pennsylvania Society,' &c.

The first elected officers of the Society under its new organization were: President—Benjamin Franklin; Vice Presidents—James Pemberton, Jonathan Pennock; Secretaries—Benjamin Rush, Trench Cox; Treasurer—James Starr; Councilors—William Lewis, John D. Cox, Miers Fisher, and William Rawle—all honored names in the history of Pennsylvania, and two of them signers of the Declaration of Independence. That the Society was not a dead form, but a living, active body, is seen in the fact, that at its first meeting, it ordered a thousand copies of its Preamble and Constitution to be printed for distribution, directing its Secretaries to send a copy to each of the Governors of the States, with a copy also of Clarkson's essay on 'the Commerce and Slavery of the Africans.' Another of its measures, adopted at a subsequent meeting, was a petition to Congress, couched in the following words:—

'From a persuasion that equal liberty was originally the portion and is still the birthright of all men, your memorialists conceive themselves bound to use all justifiable measures to loosen the bonds of slavery, and to promote a general enjoyment of the blessings of freedom. Under these impressions, they earnestly entreat your serious attention to the subject of slavery; that you would be pleased to countenance the restoration of liberty to those unhappy people who, alone, in this land of freedom, are degraded into perpetual bondage, and who, amidst the general joy of surrounding freedom, are groaning in servile subjection; that you will devise means for removing this inconsistency from the character of the American people; that you will promote mercy and justice towards this distressed race, and that you will step to the very verge of the powers vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow-men.'

This petition was signed by Benjamin Franklin, President of the Society.

Among the members of the old Pennsylvania Abolition Society, the records show such names as that of Hon. Richard Peters, Judge of the District Court, and of Rev. John Andrews, D.D., Provost of the University of Pennsylvania; of Thomas Sayre, merchant and member of the Society of Friends, and of Thomas Paine, author of 'Common Sense' and 'The Age of Reason.' Among its honorary members were Dr. Price, the eminent philanthropist of London, and the Abbé Gregoire and Raynal, and the Marquis de La Fayette of France. Thus it will be seen, that in those days, Quaker and priest, civilian and soldier, Christian and infidel, worked side by side in the holy cause of emancipation. That this was not done without risk on the part of some to religious reputation is a matter of no doubtful inference. The hue and cry against infidelity was perhaps as loud then as it is now. The French Encyclopedists, at that time at the height of their popularity, were the dread of religious and political conservatives everywhere, and French Jacobinism was in no better repute, or regarded with no more favor in those days than Garrisonian abolitionism is at the present; and yet Christian ministers and religious laymen united with people who were understood to hold in favor the most latitudinarian doctrine, and all labored together for the slave's redemption. It is to these men, members of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society and their coadjutors, that this Commonwealth is indebted for what she enjoys of credit and advantage growing out of the fact of her being a free State.

On the 8th of November, 1779, the public mind having been duly agitated, a bill was introduced into the General Assembly, providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in the State. On the 15th of February following, after much discussion and strong opposition, that bill became a law. It was but a partial measure of justice, to be sure, but it was all that the philanthropy of that day demanded. The doc-

trine of 'Immediate, not Gradual, Emancipation,' first advocated by Elizabeth Heyrick, in a pamphlet bearing that title, and subsequently adopted by Wilberforce and his coadjutors, was not broached until nearly half a century after that period. Our fathers appear, therefore, to have acted up to the light of their time. If their mode of emancipation was not wisely devised, it was well intended, and the good spirit that prompted and aided in its execution did much to counteract the evils of its plan. What that spirit was may be inferred from the preamble which introduces the act, and which reads thus:—

'We conceive it to be our duty, and rejoice that it is in our power, to extend a portion of the freedom to others which has been extended to us. . . . It is to us to inquire why, in the creation of mankind, the inhabitants of the earth were distinguished by a difference of features and complexion. It is sufficient to know that all are the work of an Almighty hand. We find in the distribution of the human species that the most fertile as well as the most barren parts of the earth are inhabited by men of different complexions; from whence we may reasonably infer that He who placed them in their various situations hath extended equally His care and protection to all, and that it becometh not us to counteract His mercies. We esteem it a peculiar blessing granted to us that we are this day enabled to add one more step to universal civilization, by removing the sorrows of those who have lived in undesired bondage, and from which, by the assumed authority of the Kings of Great Britain, no effectual relief could be obtained. Weaned by a long course of experience from those narrow prejudices and partialities we had imbibed, we find our hearts enlarged with kindness towards men of all conditions and nations; and we conceive ourselves, at this particular period, extraordinarily called upon, by the blessing which we have received, to manifest the sincerity of our professions and give a substantial proof of our gratitude.'

Such was the spirit of Pennsylvania seventy-eight years ago, as expressed in her legislative action. It is not to be inferred, however, that this was the feeling of the people universally. Proof to the contrary is seen in the strong opposition that was made to the measure, and in the solemn protest that was placed on the minutes against it. The record of the year and days shows that out of 55 members present, 34 voted for the bill and 21 against it; and the signatures to the protest show that this number of 21 was afterwards increased to 23.

It is instructive in reading this protest to notice the points of resemblance as well as of difference between the objections made to emancipation then and now. The protestants urge, of course, the dangers of emancipation—the dangers, first, to themselves, and second, to the more Southern brethren, and especially the danger—as they express it—of 'weakening that body of which this State is a member,'—in other words, of weakening 'the Union';—its 'dissolution' had not then become a matter of apprehension.

The '2d' objection of the protest is thus expressed:—'Because, notwithstanding we approve and are sensible of the humanity of securing slaves in times of peace, we cannot think this the proper time, and the seat of war is likely to be transferred to the southward . . . and the sound of freedom that may go forth from this law may lead the negroes of those States to a demand of immediate and entire freedom, or to other disorders which may end in the greatest cruelties which an ignorant and desperate people can be capable of committing.'

The '3d' ground of protest has its basis in prejudice against color, and shows that our forefathers were what would now be called 'amalgamationists.' The language runs thus:—

'Because if the time were come when the slaves might be safely emancipated, we could not agree to their being made free citizens in so extensive a manner as this law proposes; we think they would have been well educated, and the Legislature would have sufficiently answered their main purposes, had these unhappy people been enabled to enjoy the fruits of their labor, and have been protected in their lives and property in the manner which we have seen, and giving them the right of voting and being voted into office, intermarrying with white persons, and being witnesses in every respect during the limited time of their servitude—which we fear in some instances may ruin families.'

This protest is instructive, as indicating the public sentiment of the State, in its earlier and purer days, on the subject of prejudice against color.

For a quarter of a century, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society maintained a vigorous existence. During the first ten years after the abolition act, voluntary transmissions, in anticipation of the period fixed by law, were so frequent, that, from this and other causes, the number of slaves was reduced from 10,000 to little more than 3,000; and during the following ten years, according to an estimate made by Thomas Jefferson, not less than 10,000 slaves were voluntarily emancipated in the State of Virginia.

But the people of that generation passed away, and their spirit was not transmitted to their successors. The generation which followed had a less lively appreciation of the blessings of liberty, and were not so much alive to the evils of oppression. Slavery, which had been covertly tolerated in the Federal Constitution, in the vain hope, on the part of some, that it would die a natural death, only secured by this means a new lease of its life. It grew in power and increased in extent, while the opposing spirit of freedom, in all parts of the country, gave evidence of decline. In the South it disappeared, in the North it languished. 'Hitherto,' says the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, in its address for the year 1809, 'the approving voice of the community and the liberal interpretation of the laws have smoothed the path of duty, and promoted a satisfactory issue to our humane exertions. At present, however, the sentiments of our fellow-citizens and the decisions of our courts are less auspicious.'

On a previous occasion, speaking of the failure of the South to send delegates to the Annual Abolition Convention at Washington, they say:—

'It is a subject of serious regret, that these Annual Associations have of late years been destitute of representatives from those States wherein the evil which we desire to eradicate most extensively prevails. Exertions have not been wanting on our part to arouse the dormant spirit of the friends of our enslaved fellow-men, but those exertions have proved unavailing. To what is this to be attributed? We believe the true reason why ostensible and public men are not pursued by the advocates of abolition in the Southern States will be found in a pretty general impression that it would not, under existing circumstances, and in the present temper of the public mind, be expedient or useful. The extreme unpopularity of all combined attempts has, therefore, introduced the substitution of individual interference as particularly urgent and requisite. Perhaps it may be questioned whether, all things considered, this plan may not be the most eligible.'

Thus it will be observed, that as early as the year 1805, the time when this language was used, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society was disposed to succumb to the rising spirit of slavery. From this period dates the decline of the anti-slavery spirit in Pennsylvania. Partly as the cause and partly as the effect of this decline, the slave system increased in power and spread in extent. In 1805, it was strengthened by the purchase of the Territory of Louisiana, a vast region, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Lake of the Woods, and from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains. In 1812, the State of Louisiana, formed out of the lower part of this territory, was added to the Union, greatly adding to the strength of the slave system. In 1819, so powerful had the system become, that the slaveholders demanded the admission of Missouri, another portion of the Louisiana territory, into the Union as a slave State. Strenuous opposition was made to this by the North, and a long and violent contest ensued, in which Pennsylvania took a conspicuous and honorable part. Her whole moral and chief political weight was thrown into the scale of freedom, and she showed herself to be still animated by a share of her early spirit. But her efforts were not sufficiently sturdy, and the opposition proved unavailing. The contest terminated in the triumph of the South. Enough of 'Doughfaces,' as they were called by John

Randolph, then for the first time, were found to yield to the threats of the slaveholders, and betray the cause of freedom. Of these, out of a delegation of twenty-three, Pennsylvania furnished two; Massachusetts, out of a representation of fourteen, furnished four. The relative position of those two States at that time was greatly in favor of Pennsylvania. Since then, however, the case has been reversed. Massachusetts has shot ahead in the race of freedom, and Pennsylvania, which once led the van, to her shame be it said, now lags in the rear.

The triumph of the slaveholders in the Missouri contest gave a blow to the abolitionism of that day from which it never recovered. Local societies in that and other States died out, and the Pennsylvania Society thereupon confined its attention chiefly to efforts for the benefit of free people of color.

In the meanwhile, the Colonization Society, a new organization, holding diametrically opposite doctrines, claimed and received public favor. The right of the master to his slave, the invincibility of prejudice against color, the evil of emancipation on the soil, and the obligation to remove the free colored people to Africa or elsewhere, were the doctrines which this Society held and inculcated. With these doctrines, the public mind became saturated; and at the end of the ten years ensuing the Missouri struggle, the demoralization of Pennsylvania was almost complete.

Such was the state of things when, in 1831, Mr. Garrison started the *Liberator*, demanding immediate and unconditional emancipation as the right of the slave and the duty of the master. This was the dawning of a new era, and it was hailed with joy by many Pennsylvanians who had not yielded to the gripings of the times, nor bowed the knee to the dark spirit of slavery. For, although the anti-slavery spirit had languished in Pennsylvania, it had never died out. The *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, an anti-slavery paper, conducted by Benjamin Lundy, that earlier pioneer of freedom, had many subscribers in Pennsylvania, and the cause in this State was at no time left without a witness. The second Anti-Slavery Society established in the United States, based on immediate emancipation, was formed in Pennsylvania. It was the Clarkson Association of Lancaster and Chester Counties, a Society which, from that time to this, has maintained an active and useful existence.

In 1832, Mr. Garrison gave to the world his 'Thoughts on Colonization.' This publication, following up, as it did, the eloquent testimony which had been previously borne against the Society by that colored people of Philadelphia, gave a blow to that unrighteous scheme which was the beginning of its end. For, although it afterwards acquired a greater number of advocates, and may have actually enjoyed a larger degree of popularity, and its subsequent culmination was only a prelude to its decline. It has since, then, subsided into very narrow limits, and the functions which it now performs rarely bring it into collision with the Anti-Slavery movement.

In 1833, the American Anti-Slavery Society was organized, and Philadelphia was the place of its formation. Numerous Anti-Slavery Societies were established in this and other States, and in 1836 the organization of the Anti-Slavery movement in this Commonwealth was made complete by the formation of this, the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, whose Twenty-second Anniversary we are now celebrating.

The history of the movement, as within the bounds of this Society, is familiar to you all. Its progress during the first few years of its existence was a continual struggle against persecution and brute violence; but it moved steadily forward, increasing in power and growing in influence. In 1838, so numerous and confident had its advocates become, that they erected a beautiful and costly edifice in Philadelphia for the use of the cause, and consecrated it to free discussion. The mob, without hindrance from the authorities, set it on fire, and reduced it to ruins. But the outrage failed of its purpose. The abolitionists continued in their course with unabated zeal, and the right of free discussion was, from that time forth, decisively settled.

In 1842, the last and most atrocious outbreak of popular violence that had yet occurred marked another stage in the progress of the cause. In this instance, the colored people were the objects of attack. They had been celebrating the emancipation of their brethren in the West Indies by a public procession and appropriate banners, some of which, by doing honor to the magnanimity of Great Britain, contained an implied reflection upon the people of this country. This was more than the mob could bear. Foiled in their previous attempts to put down the abolitionists, they now seemed resolved to crush the people of color. They attacked the procession with stones and other missiles, drove those who composed it before their fury, and for three days pursued the unoffending objects of their hate with unrelenting persecution. Setting law and authority at defiance, they burned churches, sacked private houses, and compelled their inmates to seek safety in flight beyond the limits of the city. But they overdid their work. A reaction ensued, which, fostered and favored by these outrages to shame, and secured a measure of redress for their victims. An increased sympathy for the colored man, and an augmented regard for his rights, were manifested from that time forward.

In 1847, the Legislature of Pennsylvania, in answer to the prayer of the abolitionists, passed an act rescinding from statute-books of the State certain relics contained therein of the old system of slavery, and forbidding all State officers to aid in the capture of fugitive slaves, and prohibiting the use of their jails for the imprisonment of persons thus apprehended.

In 1850, Anti-Slavery had become so powerful, and had done so much to impair the tenure by which slaveholders and the border States held their property, that the aid of the Federal Government was invoked in the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law. That law the abolitionists denounced as infamous, and appealing to the rising love of liberty in the people, avowed their purpose to trample it under foot. The government, on the other hand, proclaimed their determination to execute it at all hazards; and here the issue was joined. Pennsylvania, from her geographical position, and the large number of refugees within her borders, became the national battle-ground for the two parties. Apprehensions and renditions, under the new act, were frequent, disgracefully frequent; but they were not made without resistance. In one instance, this resistance was unto blood. The Methodist class-leader Gonsch, coming with a body of armed slave-catchers, at midnight, into one of our peaceful valleys to recapture an escaped fugitive, paid with his life the forfeit of his rashness. Hanway and Lewis, Scarlet and Jackson, Clarkson and Williams, and twenty-four others, were arrested and imprisoned as accessories before the fact, and put on trial for High Treason. No pains were spared to inflame the public mind against them; but it was of no avail. The people's indignation was roused, a strong reaction ensued against the government, and the prisoners were triumphantly acquitted. This trial virtually determined the contest between the government and the people. Since that time, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 has been of no more force than that of 1793, the inadequacies of which it was designed to remedy.

The next stage in the progress of our movement was the passage of the Kansas and Nebraska bill, and the election of James Buchanan to the Presidency. These two events, following each other in quick succession, bring us to the present period of our anti-slavery history. Pennsylvania took a part in both that was more conspicuous than creditable. In the passage of the Kansas bill, the unconcealed object of which was to increase the power of slavery by adding a new slave State to the Union, Pennsylvania

furnished a large number of votes in Congress than any other free State. In the election of Mr. Buchanan, the most unscrupulously pro-slavery President that has yet held the reins of our government, Pennsylvania shut her eyes to the truth, stopped her ears against evidence, and, insisting on believing a lie, cast her electoral vote for a man who had notoriously used under pledges to use the power of the government for the benefit of slavery. The fact was before them that Mr. Buchanan, speaking through his special friend, Samuel W. Black, of this State, and using the expressive language of Ruth to Naomi, had said to the slaveholders at the Cincinnati Convention:—

'Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee; for whether thou goest I will go, and where thou lodgest I will lodge, thy God shall be my God, and thy people shall be my people; where thou diest I will die, and there will I be buried. The Lord do to me and more also, if I forget but death part thee and me.'

That Mr. Buchanan has redeemed the pledge thus given to the best of his ability, no one will question. No entreaties have prevailed with him to leave the slaveholders, or to cease for a moment from following after them. Where they have gone he has gone, and where they have lodged he has lodged. Their God has been his God; and it would rarely seem as though literally nothing but death would part him and them. Body and soul, he has surrendered himself to their use, and, more than this, he has done what he could to make a similar surrender of his State. But, happily, this was a task to which his power was not adequate. With all the patronage of the government in his hands, and with the aid of such Pennsylvanians as Black in the Cabinet, Bigler in the Senate, Florence, Phillips and the two Joneses, and the rest of the infamous tools who voted for the admission of Kansas as a slave State, in the House, he has not been able to transfer either his State or his party in it to the service of slavery. On the contrary, his efforts have proved thus far a total failure, and Pennsylvania stands immovably opposed to the policy of her 'favorite son' on the question of extending slavery. Even the men of easy virtue in Congress, whom he had persuaded for a while into the support of his course, now, when confronted with their constituents, and obliged to make efforts to secure their re-election, abandon his policy, and pledge themselves in advance to vote for the admission of Kansas as a free State, when she may present herself with or without the requisite population.

These facts indicate the present state of public feeling in Pennsylvania on the subject of slavery. So far as that question is involved in the political issues of the day, Pennsylvania is against slavery, and in favor of freedom. The *entente cordiale* which used to exist between Democracy and the slaveholders has been broken, party ties are sundered, and the people of Pennsylvania and the Slave Power of the South now occupy toward each other a position of antagonism.

This is not saying much to be sure, especially in consideration of what remains to be done; but it is saying something, and something which, in view of the difficulties that have been overcome, deserves to be here recorded as a matter of encouragement. It indicates that the anti-slavery movement, whose history we have been tracing in its origin, culmination, decline and subsequent resurrection, is again on its upward and onward way, hastening to a result which, if its friends prove faithful, will be a glorious triumph.

Pennsylvania has not yet been converted to anti-slavery doctrines—the end proposed by this Society—far from it; but she is changing. Hard to make progress, she is, nevertheless, steadily, if not rapidly, advancing. Her geographical position and the character of a large portion of her population have been formidable hindrances to her progress. Abutting against three slave States; with a slave border of nearly 400 miles in length; populated to a larger extent than any other Northern State with slaveholders; with a vast Babel of ignorance in her interior, she has had drawbacks to her advancement with which, to the same extent, no other State has been burdened. Nevertheless, as we have seen, she is moving forward with a steady and certain step. On every hand are visible evidences of improvement. In politics the signs are especially striking. Democrats who used to make their election sure by professing hostility to anti-slavery and fidelity to the South, now seek the same ends by professions precisely the opposite. Mr. Buchanan secured the electoral vote of Pennsylvania by private professions of friendliness to Kansas as a free State; and now the men who followed him in Congress in falsifying his professions are asking to be elected on the ground of their readiness to vote for the admission of Kansas under a free constitution, with or without the requisite proportion of population. These things we record for our encouragement. The cause in this State is advancing; Pennsylvania is returning to her original position as the declared friend of impartial and universal freedom.

To this end, as the immediate object of this Society, we are laboring; that accomplished, the ultimate result will not be far distant. The same principles and measures which have brought us thus far, if faithfully adhered to, will carry us through. What our principles are may be thus stated: Slavery is a sin against God and an outrage upon man; liberty is the inalienable prerogative of every human being; unconditional emancipation is the immediate duty of the master and instant right of the slave; the colored man is, before God, and should be before the law, in all respects, our equal brother.

The exemplification of these principles in our own conduct, and their faithful application, by consistent moral means, to the conduct of others, constitute our measures.

Our end being nothing less than the entire abolition of slavery, we cannot identify ourselves or take part with any political organization, the object of which is merely to localize or limit the atrocious system; on the contrary, we feel bound to combat and resist all such organizations as compromising the cause of freedom and retarding its triumph.

Regarding the colored man as our equal brother, we can have no fellowship with those Churches which allow him to be held as a slave, or which withhold from him any of the rights to which, as a man, he is entitled; on the contrary, looking upon such Churches as the unfruitful works of darkness, we feel bound rather to reprove them. Believing that slaveholding is a sin against God and an outrage upon man, we can neither hold our fellow-beings in bondage ourselves, nor aid others in committing that crime. We cannot, therefore, assent to or be parties under a compact which, like that of the Federal Constitution, binds Pennsylvania and other free States to aid the South in retaining her slaves, requiring them to deliver up the fugitive, to strike down the insurgent, and to concede to the slaveholder an extra proportion of political power. On the contrary, we feel called upon by every motive of consistency and duty to denounce that compact as an infamous bargain, an unholy covenant, a league with the oppressors. It only to be broken, our watchword is, No toleration of slavery anywhere or for any purpose; our motto, No Union with slaveholders, religious or political.

A faithful adherence to these principles, fearlessly maintaining and zealously propagating them, we regard as the best means of promoting the cause, and accomplishing the ends of this Society.

In finding a survey of the field during the past year we find but little occurring that has not already been sufficiently referred to, in general terms, to make further notice unnecessary. Many incidents have, of course, transpired, more or less directly affecting the cause, but to recite them in detail would be tedious and unprofitable. One, however, we may not pass over without special mention. We allude to the death of Judge Kane, an event which took place on the 20th of last February. Judge Kane's official history is closely connected with that of the fugitive

law. He adjudicated, or rather decided, more cases under that law than any other magistrate in the free States; and he sent into slavery more alleged fugitives under that act than any other Judge or Commissioner, save Edward D. Ingraham. He it was who delivered the charge to the Grand Jury, defining the crime of treason, under which Hanway and Lewis, and their fellow-prisoners, were incarcerated in Moyamensing and put on trial for their lives—the allegation against them having been that they aided and abetted an attempt to resist the execution of the Fugitive Slave law. He it was who committed Passmore Williams to prison and kept him there for one hundred days, his offence having been virtually that of giving liberty to a woman and her two children, who were free by the laws of Pennsylvania. The last slave case that Judge Kane decided was tried on the 18th of last December. There was no person present at the hearing except the officers of the Court and the party which claimed and the party which arrested the prisoner. The slave had no counsel, and the testimony was wholly *ex parte*. The decision was in favor of the claimant, and the prisoner was hurried into slavery. In two months after this transaction Judge Kane died, since which time no slave case has occurred in the State of Pennsylvania.

Passing from events outside the Society to our doings within, we have to report that these have differed in no material respect from the operations of previous years. We have circulated anti-slavery newspapers, books and pamphlets, and have held anti-slavery meetings, as usual. From the last of October till the first of May, Francis E. Watkins, a competent and faithful advocate of the cause, was engaged in the lecturing field as a constant laborer; and occasionally during the year, as opportunity has offered, Robert Collyer, a workman who needs not to be ashamed, has been employed by the Society in the same service. Individual members of the Executive Committee have attended meetings and delivered lectures, and public debates have been encouraged and maintained, which have yielded useful results to the cause.

The Treasurer's Report will show a falling off in our receipts, which will be accounted for by the prevalence of the money panic, which has been everywhere felt. The funds of the Society are furnished chiefly by voluntary contributions, most of which have hitherto come from merchants and other men in business.

This class, however, have suffered most from the disasters of the times, in consequence of which they have felt obliged in many instances to diminish, and in some to discontinue entirely, for the present, their usual donations. As a consequence, and in order to meet our other engagements, we have been obliged, greatly to our regret, to cut down our quota of aid to the support of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*. We regret this the more, as *The Standard* has never been more ably conducted or more worthy of liberal support than it is at present. Its value, as an anti-slavery paper, it would be hard to over-estimate, and its importance to the cause we deem absolutely indispensable.

We trust that the fiscal deficiencies of this year will not characterize the next; that 1853 in this respect will prove to have been an exceptional year, and that with the return of prosperity will come a corresponding desire to give liberally to our enterprise.

It affords us pleasure to notice in this connection a legacy to this Society, which, though not at present available, cannot be regarded by all with great satisfaction. Miss Frances Moore, of Wemelsdorf, who died on the 15th of August, in the 82d year of her age, left us, by will, the sum of \$500. Miss Moore was an eminently good woman and a consistent friend of the anti-slavery cause. The example of her excellent life and faithful services greatly enhance the value of the bequest, and commends the testator to a cherished place in the memory of this Society.

In conclusion, we reiterate what we have already said: the aspects of our cause are encouraging. Pennsylvania, though still and slow, is moving. The labor which has been bestowed upon her by this Society has produced, in an encouraging measure, its desired effect. Our success in the past demands of us redoubled effort in the future. There is no excuse for apathy. The present juncture is eminently favorable to anti-slavery exertion. The field is white already to harvest, and the voice of the angel comes to us saying, 'Thrust in thy sickle and reap, for the time has come for thee to reap.'

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 29, 1853.

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR.

SYRACUSE, OCT. 25, 1853.

The anniversary of the Western Anti-Slavery Society having been notified to be held six weeks later in the season than usual, it was feared, by some, that the attendance would be greatly lessened, as no mass meeting could be held out of doors; but, though the number present was somewhat diminished, it was too large to find accommodation in the town hall, which, on Sunday, was crowded to excess, and could easily have been twice filled. Delegates were present from various parts of the West, reliable, true-hearted, and indomitable in spirit. The anniversary opened on Saturday morning, 16th inst., and continued, by successive meetings, until Monday evening. If, before it was held, there was some despondency of feeling, in regard to the aspect of affairs, through the general pecuniary depression which exists so extensively at the West, no sooner did its sessions commence than all this was dissipated, and all present seemed to be inspired by a common sentiment of hope and courage. The Annual Report of the Executive Committee, drawn up and read by J. ELIZABETH JONES, the Corresponding Secretary, was an impressive statement of the condition of our cause, especially in Ohio, and gave the key-note to the entire proceedings. It was evident that death, rather than words, were wanted; and that unless the spirit of benevolence and self-sacrifice came to the rescue, the existence of the Society would be impracticable, and the operations of the Society measurably suspended. On the last day, that spirit was earnestly appealed to, and most generously responded, considering the crippled condition of many in their business affairs. Thirty-six new subscribers were obtained for the *Liberator*. The amount received in cash was upwards of four hundred dollars, and the pledges to the Society amounted to about five hundred dollars. All hearts were made glad at the result. A portion of the time, the discussion was general, earnest, and of a very practical character. Speeches were made—such as the times demanded—by the President, MARIUS R. ROBINSON, and by Dr. A. BROOKS, FRANCES ELLEN WATKINS, WILLIAM HOISINGTON, (the blind preacher), JOSEPHINE GRIFITH, BENJAMIN S. JONES, JERU HALLIDAY, BENJAMIN BROWN, T. B. MCORMICK, THOMAS BROWN, and others. These were listened to with earnest and unflinching attention, as though a great and solemn crisis was at hand, and every one must stir up his lions to meet it. Miss WATKINS, as usual, made a very marked impression upon those who listened to her pathetic and eloquent words; and, though identified by complexion with a proscribed race, and young in years, produced the general conviction that scarcely a white young lady in the land, however favored with scholastic advantages, could be found to match her in the gift of speech and the power of literary composition. The speech of Mrs. GRIFITH was an admirable effort, full of soul and feeling, tersely expressed, and highly effective. But I have not time to go into particulars.

The resolutions adopted were of a high-toned character, and had the ring of the true metal in them. I never saw a gathering more magnetically drawn together; and the temper of the discussions (on times very spirited) was admirable throughout. Reply upon reply, the abolitionists of Ohio will not be found wanting in any hour of trial, as compared with those of any other State.

Since the anniversary, I have lectured in Cleveland, Ohio, and in Cortland, in this State, four times. This evening, I shall address a public meeting in this place, and to-morrow evening another in Albany, on my way home, via Northampton and Cummington. My particulars must be left till my return.

My visit to Cortland, on Saturday and Sunday, (H. Fish, is located), was uncommonly interesting. I am now partaking of the hospitality of my dear and beloved friend, SAMUEL J. MAY, who intends to be with his friends in Boston next week, and who contemplates a voyage to Europe for his health.

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A PIOUS SLAVE OVERSEER.

Although pious slaveholders are exceedingly common in the South, slave-traders by profession and plantation overseers rarely make this profession. Their tastes and habits lead rather to direct brutality than to that circuitous hardness of heart that stops at a text before administering a flogging, and that new pungency to the infliction by pretending it to be the discharge of a duty. The testimony of escaped slaves (that is, of slaves who have gained a position in which they can speak the truth without a possibility of being detected) is that the cruelty of pious masters is more annoying and vexatious of all, hardest to bear at the time, hardest to forgive afterwards. Of course it may be so, since hypocrisy sharpens the sting of oppression. The rabber who plunders you for the glory of God is more odious than he who does the same thing to relieve his own necessities, or even to gratify his luxury or service.

But, though the office of overseer is almost invariably held by a swearing man instead of a pious one, the real work of the overseer, the maintenance of submission among slaves, of a habit of obedience to the function is not the whip, but the prayer.

Seeing their position apparently hopeless in this world, a large proportion of the slaves must be driven eagerly to seize any hope that may be held out to them of rest and happiness in the world to come. The crafty masters readily see the advantage that may be gained by cultivating a hope of heaven which they have to hope on earth, and thus ensure a patient submission to injustice; and the obsequious chaplain, white and black, readily lend themselves to the work of obtaining the godliness of the slave into great gain for the master.

In no particular are the dishonesty and impudence of slaveholders more manifestly shown than in their statements respecting what they call the 'religious privileges' of the slaves. The facts upon which these statements are based are the following:

1. A pen is provided in the most commodious and desirable part of the church, bearing the same relation to the slaveholder's pew that the 'negro quon' does to the 'big house,' in which the slaves are allowed to hear the sermon which is addressed to the masters, and from which, on 'communion days,' they come down to receive the sacrament of our very white person has received it.

2. A few masters stately, and more, occasionally provide white preachers to address congregations of slaves. The staple material of their sermons is the junction of so much real morality as will be the pecuniary advantage of the slaveholders (as the usual mode of stealing, lying and drunkenness), and the usual habit of hearing the sermons which are addressed to them. And I solemnly affirm that, during the forty years of my residence and observation in the line, I never heard a single one of these sermons but what was taken up with the obligations

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